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DHANAVAJRA VAJRĀCĀRYA

and

KAMAL P. MALLA

THE GOPĀLARĀJAVAMŚĀVALĪ

A facsimile edition prepared by the NEPAL RESEARCH CENTRE in collaboration with the NATIONAL ARCHIVES, Kathmandu. With an introduction, a transcription, Nepali and English translations, a glossary and indices.

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The Vamśāvalī King-lists

A careful analysis of the Vamśāvalī king-lists and comparison of these lists with positive chronology show certain basic syndromes.

The *Gopālarājavamśāvalī* has, for instance, the following kings who are not available in Kaisher Vamśāvalī or in Kirkpatrick or in the inscriptions: Campādeva, Jivagupta, Mānavarmā, Mahīpāla, Dēvaladeva, and Vasantadeva. Both Abridged Vamśāvalī and Kirkpatrick repeat Viṣṇugupta, Bhīmārjunadeva, Jayadeva and Baladeva, though with different regnal years.

Several kings available in the inscriptions are missing from the Vamśāvalī lists, such as Vāmanadeva, Rāmadeva, Gaṅgādeva, Dhruvadeva and Jayadeva II. On the other hand, we do not yet have any historical documents for several kings mentioned in these king-lists, such as Kṛtavarmā, Vardhamānadeva, Śaṅkaradeva, and Jayadeva III.

Similarly, for medieval period, the *Gopālarājavamśāvalī* commits the error of omission of 4 historically attested kings:

Śaṅkaradeva	NS 40
Nirbhayadeva	NS 125
Bhojadeva-Rudradeva	NS 132

The VK omits Jayadeva, the founder of the half kingdom of Lalitpur and Bhāskaradeva (NS 165-167), the refractory feudatory of Patan. Kirkpatrick omits Śaṅkaradeva (NS 189-203). Both Kirkpatrick and Abridged Vamśāvalī omit Guṇakāmadeva (NS 305-316), the legendary founder of Kathmandu.

Another major syndrome is one of divergence among the king-lists. For medieval period, the lists diverge on an interesting point: the inclusion or omission of the three early medieval kings:

Jayadeva : included in V_1 , omitted in VK, VG, and Kirkpatrick
Sahadeva : Omitted in V_1 , included in VK, VG, and Kirkpatrick
Vikramadeva: Omitted in VK and Kirkpatrick, included in V_1 , VG.

None of these three kings has so far been attested historically in any other documents. Whether they were contemporaries ruling two or three kingdoms, or joint rulers of the same kingdom, or rulers succeeding one after another is at present a subject of conjecture.

The Licchavis

VN has the
Mānadeva 45
VII

Gopālarājavamśāvalī

Abridged Vamśāvalī

Kirkpatrick

Viśvadeva 100
Mānadeva 41
Śaṅkaradeva 40
Dharmadeva 41
Mahideva 41
Vasantadeva 39
Udayadeva 45 *Samrat*
Gaṇadeva 45
Guṇakāmadeva 50
Śivadeva 41.6
Campadeva 41.9
Narendradeva 34
Bhīmadeva 14
Jivagupta 74
Viṣṇugupta 71
Bhūmigupta 45
Śivadeva 41
Amśuvarmā 43
Mānavarmā 65
Kṛtavarmā 76
Mahīpala
Devaladeva 10
Bhīmārjunadeva 35
Narendradeva 13
Śivadeva 16
Narendradeva 35
Baladeva 17
Vardhamānadeva 16
Śaṅkaradeva 12
Vasantadeva 21

Vṛṣadeva 57
Śaṅkaradeva 50
Dharmadeva 51
Mānadeva 39
Mahideva 51
Vasantadeva 56
Udayadeva 47
Mānadeva 45
Guṇakāmadeva 50
Śivadeva 41.6

Narendradeva 34
Bhīmadeva 16
Viṣṇugupta 74
Viṣṇugupta 61
Bhūmigupta 45
Śivadeva 41
Amśuvarmā 53
Kṛtavarmā 18

Bhīmārjunadeva 37
Nandadeva 13
Śivadeva 16
Narendradeva 37
Baladeva 17
Śaṅkaradeva 12
Vardhamānadeva 16
Śaṅkaradeva 12
Bhīmārjunadeva 16
Jayadeva 19
Baladeva 16

Brikh Deo 57 ✓
Sunker Deo 50 ✓
Bhurma Deo 51
Maun Deo 39
Mahe Deo 51
Bussunt Deo 56 ✓
Ondey Deo 47 ✓
Maun Deo 45 ✓
Sookaum Deo 50 ✓
Seo Deo 41.6 ✓

Nurredur Deo 34 ✓
Bhema Deo Burmah 16 ✓
Bishen Gupt 74 ✓
Kishnoo Gupt 61
Bhoomy Gupt 40 X
Seo Deo Burmah 41 ✓
Unghoo Burmah 42

Kirtoo Burmah 18 ✓ *Mānavarmā? King of Gauda*

Bheem Arjoon Deo 39
Nund Deo 13 ✓
Seo Deo 16 ✓
Nurrender Deo 37 ✓
Bul Deo 17 ✓
Sunker Deo 12 ✓

Bhem Arjoon Deo 16 ✓
Jye Deo 19 ✓
Sree Bull Deo 16 ✓

Vṛṣadeva 57
Śaṅkaradeva 50
Dharmadeva 51
Mānadeva 39
Gopadeva 7
mānadeva 4 year
mānadeva
Viṣṇugupta 61
Bhūmigupta 45
Amśuvarmā 45

Vardhamānadeva 16
Śaṅkaradeva 12 (Repetition)

Gopālarājavamśāvalī

Kaisher Vamśāvalī

Abridged Vamśāvalī

Kirkpatrick

Rudradeva 27
Jayadeva 42.5
Baladeva 11
Balārjunadeva 21.5
Mānadeva 36

(....de)va 26
Jayadeva 42.7
Baladeva 11
Balārjunadeva 21.5
Mānadeva 36

Candradeva 27
Jayadeva 42.7
Baladeva 11
Balārjunadeva 36.7
Mānadeva 36

Condur Deo 27
Jye Deo 42.7
Bul Deo 11
Ballunjoon Deo 36.7
[???

Kandradeva 27
Jayadeva 42.7
Mānadeva 36

Note: The fragmentary Vamśāvalī at Kaisher Library begins with (Rudrade)va only.

Brishpa

Kalmuk The Thakurīs

No Gunakamadeva

Patan + Bhaskara

Kalmuk

Gopālarājavamśāvalī	Kaisher Vamśāvalī	Abridged Vamśāvalī	Kirkpatrick
Rāghavadeva 43.6	Rāghavadeva 63.6	Rāghavadeva 63.8	Ragheed Deo 63
Jayadeva 10	Saṅkaradeva 18.6	Saṅkaradeva 18.6	Seeker Deo 88.6
Vikramadeva 8.9	Sahadeva 33.9	Sahadeva 33.9	Soho Deo 33.9
Narendradeva 1.6	Narendradeva 1.6	Vikramadeva	Narrender Deo 1.6
Guṇakāmadeva 85.6	Guṇakāmadeva 85.6	Narendradeva 1.6*	Goonakam Deo 85.6
Udayadeva 5.5	Udayadeva 6	Udayadeva 6	Oodoy Deo 6
Lakṣmīkāmadeva 21	Nirbhayadeva 5	Nirbhayadeva 5	Nurbhoy Deo 7
Vijayadeva 31	Bhojadeva+Rudra- deva 9.7	Bhojadeva+Rudra- deva 9.7	Bhaj Deo Budro 9.7
Bhāskaradeva 3	Lakṣmīkāmadeva 21	Lakṣmīkāmadeva 21	Letchmi Camdeo Dutt
Balavantadeva 12	Baladeva 12	Jayadeva 20	Jye Deo 20, reduced
Padmadeva 6	Padmadeva 6	Bhāskaradeva+ Jayadeva 7.4	refactory tribute Bhāskara, of Pata
Nāgārjunadeva 2	Nāgārjunadeva 3	Baladeva 12	Ooday Deo 7.1
Śaṅkaradeva 15	Śaṅkaradeva 17	Padmadeva 6	Bull Deo 12
Vāmadeva 3	Vāmadeva 3	Nāgārjunadeva 3	Puddiem Deo 6
Harṣadeva 14	Harṣadeva 16	Saṅkaradeva 17	Naug Arjoon 3
Śivadeva 27.7	Śivadeva 27.7	Vāmadeva 3	Bam Deo 3
Indradeva 15	Indradeva 12	Harsadeva 16	Sree Hurkh Deo 16
Mānadeva 4	Mānadeva 4	Sivadeva 27.7	Seo Deo 27.7
Narendradeva 6.5	Narendradeva 6.5	Indradeva 12	Indro Deo 12
Ā(nandadeva) 20	Nandadeva 20	Mānadeva 4.7	Maun Deo 4.7
Rudradeva 8.1	Rudradeva 8.1	Narendradeva 6.4	Nurrender Deo 6.4
Amṛtadeva 3.11	Amṛtadeva 3.11	Anandadeva 20	Rudro Deo 80.1
Someśvaradeva 4	Someśvaradeva 3	Amṛtadeva 3.11	Omret Deo 3.11
Guṇakāmadeva 3	Guṇakāmadeva (?) (Crowned NS 305 Pauṣa Sudi 7, Sunday)	Someśvaradeva 6.3 (Crowned NS 299 Kārtik Kṛṣṇa 6, Friday)	Someesur Deo 6.3
Vijayakāmadeva 7	Vijayakāmadeva 6.7	Vijayakāmadeva 50.7	Buz Caum Deo (Unknov)

mbkars.

No Rurander

No Anand

The Early Mallas

<i>Gopālarājavamśāvalī</i>	<i>Kaisher Vamśāvalī</i>	<i>Abridged Vamśāvalī</i>	<i>Kirkpatrick</i>
Ari Malla 25.10	Arimalladeva 31.9	Arimalla 31.9	Any Mull 31.9
Abhaya Malla 42.6	Abhaya Malla 48.2	Abhaya Malla 48.2	Obhay Mull 48.2
Jayadeva 2.8	Jayadeva 2.7	Jayadeva 2.7	Jey Deb 2.7
Bhimadeva 13.7			
Jayasiha Malla 2.7			
Ananta Malla 32.10	Ananta Malla 32.10	Ananta Malla 32.10	Unwunt Mull Deo 32.10
Anandadeva (?)	Anandadeva (?)	Anandadeva (?)	Jye Nund Deo (?)
Arimalla 24.6 (?)	Arimalla	Arimalla	Jye Singh Mull/Jye Ruero Mull
(Crowned NS 440,			Naik Deby+Harrir
Caitra Kṛṣṇa 12)			Chunder Deo, Rajah
(died in an earthquake			of Banares
on Āśvina Śukla 7, 464			Raj Letchmi, deposed
(Sept. 14, 1344)			by Jye Dub, deposed
Rājadeva 12.5 (?)	Rājadeva	(Brings the dynasty	by Hurr Singh Deo,
(Crowned NS 467,	(Crowned NS 464,	of Nānyadeva and his	Rajah of Semroun
Śrāvaṇa Kṛṣṇa 4 died	Śrāvaṇa Kṛṣṇa 4)	successors, upto	Ghur in December
in a fire, NS 481	(Brings the dynasty	Sthitirājamalla)	1323
Māgha Kṛṣṇa 8/	his successors upto	Sthitirājamalla)	(Brings the dynasty
Jan. 30, 1361)	Sthitirājamalla)		of Nānyadeva and
Arjunadeva			his successors upto
(Crowned Vaiśākha			Sthitirājamalla)
Śukla 2, 480 died,			
NS 502 Māgha Kṛṣṇa 5)			
Sthitirājamalla			
(NS 502, died NS 515			
Bhādra Kṛṣṇa 6)			

The Chronology of Nepalese Kings

This positive chronology is pieced together by collating three main sources -- inscriptions, manuscript colophons, and chronicles.

Our sources for the Licchavis are limited to their inscriptions. For the four centuries of their documented rule, we have nearly 200 inscriptions. This number is, however, misleading as most of the inscriptions are fragmentary and short, containing little or no historical information. The ones containing historical data are not evenly distributed either.

The first ancient inscriptions of Nepal were published a century ago. Controversies still persist on the interpretation of their chronology, particularly on the assignment of two different sets of eras used in these inscriptions to the known epoch eras. The first set of inscriptions is dated between 386-526/535 years; the second set is dated between 29-301 years. The present consensus of opinions among scholars is that the first set is dated according to Śaka Era (founded in A.D. 78) whereas the second set is dated according to Mānadeva Era (founded in A.D. 576). All eras in use in ancient and medieval Nepal are Kārttikādi, i.e., begin on the first day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārttika (ca. ± October 20).

However, this interpretation of ancient Nepalese chronology has yet to confront an almost insurmountable problem--the problem of interpreting the data of intercalated months available in Licchavi inscriptions. In this connection, Petech's caveat is worth recollecting,

"By no Siddhānta, by no system, with no era, can we get intercalations at the intervals stated in the (Licchavi inscriptions)."
Luciano Petech, "The Chronology of the Early Inscriptions of Nepal", *East and West* XII:2 (December, 1961), p. 230.

What we call the positive chronology of Licchavi kings is thus a shaky list of about 25 names and 30 dates.

For the 320 year rule of the Thakurīs we have 24 short, unrevealing, and fragmentary inscriptions. The chronology for this period is pieced together with the help of manuscript colophons. Mercifully, Nepalese scribes noted down, not only the time and place of copying of manuscripts, but also the name of the reigning king. The chronology of "the dark period of Nepalese history" is thus a skeleton structure of 30 names and 45 dates, a few of which are compiled from the chronicles.

Only 18 inscriptions of any consequence have survived from (255) 195- year rule of the early Mallas. Some of their dates are collated from colophons. At this point, however, the chronicles become richer in detail and genealogical data.

Kamal P. Malla

[Jayadeva I]			AD 25
[12 un-named kings]			
[Vṛṣadeva]	57		AD 825 - 382
[Śaṅkaradeva]	40		AD 883 - 422
[Dharmadeva]	41		AD 428 - 463
Mānadeva	41	Śaka Era 386-427 (AD 464-505)	
[Mahideva]	41 ? = 1 ?		506 ?
Vasantadeva	39	428-454	
Vāmanadeva		460	7
Rāmadeva		467	
Gaṇadeva	45	482-487	= 27 ?
Gaṅgādeva		489	- 9
[Mānadeva II]		[498	Founder of a new Era AD 576]
Śivadeva I	41.6	512-526/535	- 613
Aṃśuvarṃā	48	Mānadeva Era	29- 44
Udayadeva			45
Dhruvadeva-Jiṣṇugupta		48- 49	
Bhīmārjunadeva-Jiṣṇugupta		55- 57	
Bhīmārjunadeva-Viṣṇugupta		64- 65	
Narendradeva	34/35/37	67-103	
Śivadeva II	16	118-129	
Jayadeva II	17	137-157	
Mānadeva III	16	180	
Balīrāja	21.5	250	
Baladeva	11	271	
Mānadeva IV	36	301 (AD 878)	Apr 13, Sunday

The Thakurīs
NS 1/AD 879--NS 320/AD 1200

[Rāghavadeva]	ca. NS 1-39	Founder of Nepāla Samvat on Thursday, October 20, 879.
Śaṅkaradeva		Bhādra Śukla 15, 40
[Jayadeva]		
[Vikramadeva]		
Guṇakāmadeva		Māgha 107-110
Narendradeva-Udayadeva		Mārga Śukla 15, 119
Udayadeva		Caitra Kṛṣṇa 12, 124
Nirbhayadeva		Caitra Śukla 13, 125
Nirbhayadeva-Rudradeva		Phālguna Śukla, 128
Bhojadeva		Jyestha Śukla 2, 131
Rudradeva-Bhojadeva		Prathamāṣāḍha Śukla, 13, 132
Rudradeva-Bhojadeva-Lakṣmīkāmadeva		Caitra Śukla 10, 135
Lakṣmīkāmadeva		Śravaṇa Śukla 2, 144-Vaiśākha Śukla 3, 159
[Vijayadeva]		The ruler of "Half-Kingdom of Lalitpur" (V ₁ 23b:3; VK3:3)
Bhāskaradeva		Śrāvaṇa Śukla 10, 165-Āśvina Kṛṣṇa 6, 167
Baladeva		Māgha Śukla 8, 172-Māgha Kṛṣṇa 3, 180
Pradyumnakāmadeva		Jyestha Kṛṣṇa 11, 183-Māgha Kṛṣṇa 10, 186
Nāgārjunadeva		188 -- ?
Śaṅkaradeva		Āṣāḍha Śukla 3, 189-Caitra Śukla 15, 202
Vāmadeva		Bhādra Kṛṣṇa, 204- ?
Harṣadeva		Vaiśākha Śukla 15, 207-Phālguna Śukla 13, 217
Śivadeva		219-246 (V ₁ 24a:3)
Indradeva		Āṣāḍha Kṛṣṇa 8, 247-Kārttika Śukla 5, 256
Mānadeva		Pauṣa Kṛṣṇa 13, 258-Kārttika Śukla 15, 260
Narendradeva		Phālguna Śukla 6, 254- Dvipauṣa Śukla 11, 265
Ānandadeva		the founder of the Kingdom of Bhakta- pur; crowned on Māgha Kṛṣṇa 1, 267 (V ₁ 24b:5) Prathamāṣāḍha Kṛṣṇa 5, 267-Phālguna Śukla 11, 286; died 287 ?

Rudradeva	84
Amṛtadeva	342
Someśvaradeva	4
Guṇakāmadeva	3
Lakṣmikāmadeva	2
Vijayakāmadeva	7

Pauṣa Kṛṣṇa 13, 287 (VK7:6-7 has 267, which is evidently a scribal error) Crowned; Mārga Śukla 15 (Agrahāyana Pūrṇimā) 295

Vaiśākha Śukla 3, 295-Bhādra Kṛṣṇa 9, 299 (V₁31b:4)

Kārttika Kṛṣṇa 6, 299 (VK8:2) Crowned; Kārttika Śukla 2, 301

Pauṣa Śukla 7, 305 (VK8:6) Crowned 307 Phālguna Kṛṣṇa 6

Kārttika Kṛṣṇa 313-Śrāvaṇa Śukla 3, 317

Vaiśākha Śukla 3, 312-Māgh Śukla Śauridivasa 320.

The Early Mallas
NS 321/AD 1200 — NS 515/AD 1395

Arimalla	Karttika Śukla 10, 321 - Jyestha Kṛṣṇa 7, 336
Abhayamalla	Jyestha Śukla 15, 337 - Āṣāḍha Śukla 8, 375
Jayadeva	Āśvina Kṛṣṇa 2, 374 (V ₁ 39a:3) Mārga Śukla 15, 377 (V ₁ 37b:1-2) Crowned twice ? Ruled for 2 years and 7/8 months Bhādra 377
Jayabhīmadeva	Caitra Śukla 5, 380 - Pauṣa Śukla 12, 390 ⁴
Jayasimhamalla	Āśvina 10, 391 - ?
Jayanantamalla	Caitra Śukla 9, 395 - Śrāvaṇa Kṛṣṇa 13, 428
Jayānandamalla	Vaiśākha Kṛṣṇa 9, 434 - Śrāvaṇa Śukla 1, 438
Jayārimalla	Caitra Kṛṣṇa 12, 440 (V ₂ 44a:2) Crowned; Āśvina Śukla 8, 464, died in an earthquake in Devpātan (V ₂ 51a:1)
The Throne of Nepal Vacant ? <u>1344-1347</u>	
Jayarājadeva	Śrāvaṇa Kṛṣṇa 4, 467 (V ₁ 28b:1-2) Crowned with the consent of both the Royal Houses - Māgha Kṛṣṇa 8, 481 -
Jayārjunadeva	Vaiśākha Śukla 2, 480 (?) - Māgha Kṛṣṇa 5, 502 (died in the Kwātha Chem confinement)
Jayasthitirājamalla	Māgha Kṛṣṇa 5, 502 - Bhādra Kṛṣṇa 6, 515.
